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THE

MERCY

OFTHE

GOVERNMENT VINDICATED.

To which are added,

REMARKS

Upon a late

PAMPHLET

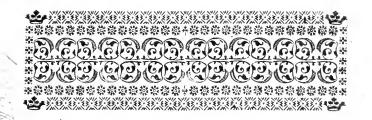
ENTITULED.

An Argument to prove the Affections of the People the best Security of the Government.



LONDON, Printed for James Roberts at the Oxford-Arms in Warwick-lane, 1716, (Pr. 6 d.)





The Mercy of the Government Vindicated, &c.



VERY Man who pretends to be a Friend, or so much as a Subject of that Government which protects him, ought on all Occasions, where that Go-

vernment is concerned, to argue first for its Security, and next for its Convenience; which two Points take in All that can relate to him in a Political Capacity. As a Member of a Common-wealth, his entire Interest depends upon its Security; and its Conveniences should be very much considered, as they may affect his own private Fortune and Family. There has not, perhaps, been any Occasion so remarkable, wherein it becomes all who wish well to their Country, to shew the good Subject upon these two Accounts, as in the late Treatment of

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the Enemies of their Country, Rebels, and Traitors.

There has been so much popular Breath ill bestowed on the wrong side, and so many secret Prejudices working in the Minds of People to hear any thing in favour of what they ought to condemn, that I think a fair State of the Case cannot but be acceptable to those who have any Spark of Reason or Loyalty lest in them. It seems very strange that the Subjects of Great Britain, who are, as well as the King, Parties aggrieved in this Case, and therefore ought to require that Satisfaction which the Laws equally dispense to King and People, should not only remit the Injury done to themselves, but talk as if they thought sit His Majesty should do so too. They, who according to the Rules of common Sense should be Petitioners for Justice, turn Advocates for their own Murderers, and take it very ill that it is not in their Power to make those Laws, which are the Security of their own Lives, ineffectual and infignificant.

When I meet with an Infatuation of this kind spreading it self thro' an honest well-meaning People, I have always found that it preceded from some Popular Word, misunderstood by those who make the most Use of it, and are most Noisy in its Defence.

fence. Any one who has observed the Rife and Progress of certain Words, put into the Mouths of a deluded Populace for these last ten Years, will agree with me that this is the Case at present, and the Word Mercy now serves the same Turn that the Words Church and Peace have done at their proper Seafons. We hear of nothing now but Mercy, it has pushed boldly in the Senate, it has Whined and Canted in the Pulpit, and been poured into half the Tea and Coffee that has been drank for these two Months throughout the whole Nation. The Word it felf conveys a very good *Idea*, but as it is used by the generality of its Admirers, and applied by the *Partizans*, it seems the Patron of all the Vice, Folly, and Nonsense, that can be committed. I shall, for the Benesit of my good Country-men, plainly shew them what the Word Mercy means; and that it is as yet in no Meaning applicable to the present Set of Rebels and Traitors. I will not act in the manner that the Advocates for Mercy have done, make a poinpous Declamation upon the Subject, which they know is much easier than proving, but come close to the Point, and directly shew from the clearest Evidence, that no Rebel can pretend a Title to it. To keep then to some Method, I shall first define what the Word Mercy imports; and then illustrate it by some Proofs drawn from the manner in

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in which God himself exerts that Divine Attribute; and then answer those Objections which either Books or Conversation have flung in my way.

Mercy is the Mitigation of a just Sentence pronounced upon the Offender for the Breach of some known Law.

The Reason, and Occasion of extending Mercy to any Criminal arise either from some alleviating Circumstances in the Commission of the Fact, or from the sincere Repentance of the Transgressor, or, where That can be had, from some Reparation to be made by the Offender for the Evil he has done. Mercy, in the first Case, is, and may be often due, because the Allevations diminish very much the Crime it self and in some Sense take off the Sting of the Guilt. In the fecond Case it is Conditional, and ought never to be given but where the Condition is performed. It may not be amiss to illustrate this by the manner in which the Supreme Being deals with his Creatures, who is as well the Fountain of Mercy as of Justice, and the nearer any Earthly Power resembles his Actions, and the Use of his Attributes, the more Great and Godlike that Power must be accounted.

In the first Case, which is the allevia-ting Circumstances of Guilt, such as the Strength of Temptation, the Prevalence of Custom, the Infirmities of Nature, &c. these the Supreme Being, who knows the Degrees both of his own Affistance and Man's Weakness, always puts into the Account, before he either punishes or pardons. The Offence of breaking thro' his Laws is the same, but the Degree of Guilt varies according to the peculiar Circumstances of the Transgressor, and two Persons may therefore commit the same Fact, and yet one may be the Object of Justice, and the other of Mercy. By this Rule we may see what Treatment the condemn'd Rebels deferve. Has there been one who has fo much as offered a Reason for his Rebellion? Was there any Act, on the fide of the King and Government, that may be faid to have provoked them to affront both in that infolent manner? Did they feel any new Weight or Oppression from the Legislature, which they might hope to remedy by this Recourse to Arms? All things, even by their own Confession, were carried with so smooth and even an Hand, the Councils of the Nation so unanimous in maintaining the just Rights and Liberties of the People, and making new Laws to transmit them safe to Posterity, that their Actions ought to have been, in common Reason, rather the Sub-

ject of their Gratitude than Complaint. The King himself, notwithstanding the load of Calumny that his Enemies had laid upon him from his first Entrance to the Kingdom, answer'd their Scandal by a most steady Adherence to the Interests of the Church of England, and the good of all his People; every Day of his Life displaying some Royal Virtue to their View, and taking all Opportunities to make even the most ungrateful, and unbelieving of his Subjects love and admire him. And yet all these repeated Acts of Royal Goodness were insufficient to keep them within the Bounds of their Duty; and because his Majesty could not be tempted to break through the Laws, or stretch them to punish even those who deserved it, they resolved to shew him that a Subject dared to do that which Majesty it self would not. Thus they began with Infults and Abuses on the Royal Line, then ran on to Riots and Tumults, and at last to open Rebellion. While the Government was labouring to take off the ill Impressions and Seeds of Discontent, that a corrupt discarded Ministry had sowed among them, by detecting their Villanies and exposing their Treasons, they made those very Ministers who had injured them and their Country their Favourites. All the Good, the King and the Legislature did, went for not ing; and all the Evil, that the Traitors had .. me, Was

was construed into Goodness and Merit. It was very hard, and sure a very ill Return that these People made, that while the King's Ministers were striving to do them and their Country Right, they themselves should be suspected and openly charged with Injustice; and the Men who had appressed them sold them have and them oppressed them, fold them, betrayed them, should be accounted not only Innocent, but Patriots. The Tenderness and Equity of the Government on one side, and the Hardiness and Insolence of the Rebels on the other, are Circumstances that deserve to be considered by those who plead for Mercy. This Rebellion, it is plain, has all the Guilt that any Rebellion ever had, and not One incidental Pretence or Excuse that most Others have had; and therefore the Actors in it cannot, without Violence to their own Consciences, hope for Favour and Mercy. There can be no Motive left for any Man to plead for the Rebels but what makes him one himself, his Secret wishes for its Success, and his Sorrow at its Disappointment.

A fecond Reason for Mercy is that conditional one of Repentance, and Reparation, and, I think, the present Set of Rebels can lay no Claim to it upon that account. In every Sin against God, Repentance is a necessary Ingredient towards Pardon, and both B. Natural

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Natural and Revealed Religion teach us to expect Mercy at the Hands of the Supreme Being upon no other Score than the Confession of our Guilt; and our promissory Obligations to make all the Reparation we can by our future Conduct. God himself, though he knows the Secret of our Hearts, yet requires that Ingenuity of Mind, in his Creatures, that they should law ones. his Creatures, that they should lay open their Transgression before him, and unfold the Privacies of their Souls to him whom they have offended. This is the first In-stance of Sincerity in the Sinner, and if he refuses it he does but prevaricate with God, and either believes that he cannot, or will not punish him. Although the Government of the Supreme Being cannot be at all endangered by the Transgressions of Man, yet after a Breach of its Laws, the great Legislator has thought fit to demand a sincere Acknowledgment on the side of the Offender, and that both for his own Honour and the Advantage of the Sinner. In Cases, where Restitution can be made, he requires that too, fince no One can be reckoned fincere in his Repentance, who is not willing to forego the Gains of his Impiety. If we apply this way of judging to the Rebels, we shall see, at once, that they have not performed the necessary Conditions by which they might be entituled

to Mercy, and therefore cannot be the proper Objects of Mercy.

The Rebels have, in general, owned that they were found in Arms against the King and Government; and have faid, in general Terms, that they are forry for their Rebellion. To have denied they were in Arms had been Madness, but I hope no Man of Common Sense can call this a Confession. If God requires a particular Enu-meration of the Circumstances of our Guilt, an Earthly King ought much more to do fo, fince the fame Reasons hold for one as for the other, with this Addition, that the Necessity of earthly Governments require it, whereas only the Honour and Dignity of the Supreme Legislature demand a Confession. If a Rebel is to give a Proof of his Affection to the Governor he has infulted, he cannot give an eafier Proof of it than by telling the Scheme and Defigns of the Enemies to that Governor. If he heartily returns to that Allegiance which he flung up by his Rebellion, he must shew himself a good Subject by some Instance of his Disposition to serve the Prince to whom he makes this new Offer of his Allegiance. He knows that he actually transferr'd his Allegiance to another, and while he did so, all his Actions gave Evidences of the Duty he thought he owed to that other Perfon B 2

fon whom he acknowledged his Sovereign; and what Assurances shall King George have that he has returned to that Allegiance he before renounced, but Actions agreeable to the Principles of a good Subject? How can a Man, who pretends to be a Friend to the Government, desire not only its Protection but its Favour, when he will not discover the Means that were concerted to fubvert that Government? What Assurances can he give of his future Conduct, or who will be fo weak as to trust his Promises, when he refuses, at present, to confess the Circumstances of his Crimes, and will not perform the smallest Condition towards making himself worthy of present Mercy? It is now in his Power to do the Government some Good, to make a little amends for his past Offences, by detecting the Depth of the Conspiracy, and if he means any thing by his Profession of Loyalty, he has the fairest Occasion to display it; and if his Loyalty is dumb now, it will ever continue as Mute. I believe it would be thought strange, in common intercourse of Friendship, to depend upon that Person's Honour, who has always a-bused it, or expect his Services who has done you all the Mischief he can, and never had but one Opportunity of doing you Good, and that he resused to take. The Crime, of the Heads and Leaders of the Rebels

bels, is the greatest that can be committed against their Prince and their Country; and though the Fffects of this Crime were happily prevented from being very dreadful, yet that is entirely accidental, and not owing to the Inclination or Will of any Rebel, but his Want of Power, or of Courage. They shewed marks of Cruelty enough, both in their Language and their Actions both in their Language and their Actions, to make any rational Person conclude that a little Success would have made them wantonly barbarous, and worked them to act up to the Principles and Spirit of victorious Popery. But yet suppose there is but little Bloodshed, upon Comparison with former Rebellions; this does not lessen the Guilt of the Rebels much, and let their own Consciences speak for them, how many stabb'd the King in their Hearts, how many Loyal Subjects each Man had destined as a Sacrifice to his Principle, his Party, or his private Resentment. The visible Effects of this Rebellion, are the unprovok'd and unnecessary Death of many of the King's Subjects, the Ruin of some Families, a large additional Weight of Taxes upon the Body of the People; and are these Matters of so little Consequence that the Authors of them should think that no Reparation is due to the Government? The least a Penitent Rebel can do, is to point out where the Seeds and Fuel of this Mifchief

chief are lodged, and since he cannot make any Restitution for the Evil which is past, attone for it, as well as he can, by preventing the same Detriment to his Country for the sure. Would he deserve his Life? Let him shew the Snare that is laid for the Lives of many Thousands: Would he be the Object of the King's Mercy? Let him sirst shew Compassion to his Fellow-Subjects, and their Desender, by detecting their secret Destroyers. For it is not Words, but Deeds that shew a true Convert to Loyalty. The Promises of these People are not to be relyed upon, without some visible Conviction that shall prove they can't retract those Promises, and that is a free and open Confession of their Abettors.

But it is objected. Perhaps they are Ignorant, and if they are not, Honour forbids them to act in so base a manner, as to betray their Friends.

To which I answer. That it is a very improbable Conjecture, that the Leaders of the Rebels acted without a full Assurance of Assistance, and a concerted Scheme in what manner, and from whom they should receive that Assistance. I remember, when they were first up in Arms, the Discourse of their Friends ran high upon their Number, their Probability of Success, and the Inability

Inability of the Government to protect it against so formidable an Association. And now the Business is at an End, we are to believe all to be the Effects of a Punchbelieve all to be the Effects of a Punch-Bowl Meeting, and the Result of a drunken Frolick; and so many Thousands of Men, a good Stock of Money, and Store of Arms and Cannons met together with as little Direction from Reason as Epicurus's Atoms, and formed themselves into an Army. So silly a Tale, that the Contrivers of it ought to be ashamed of so pitiful an Excuse, and would take it very ill, at another time, if one should happen to think so meanly of their Understanding, as they don't scruple to affirm they do themselves at present. I can't question but the Government had a better Intelligence, and the Consinement of a great many sufand the Confinement of a great many fufpected Persons, at that juncture, is a sufficient Reason to make us believe the Rebels had a fitter and deeper Scheme than they will own in their present Circumstances. I never heard that they pretended to have above one Lunatick in their Company, but this Argument proves them all fuch, and upon that Account is a very bad one. But had they not a General with them who had ferved many Campaigns Abroad, and it may be asked how he came out of his own Country to regulate their Army without a Correspondence between

between Scotland and England? And it is not to be doubted, but that their Intelligence stretched to the South as well as to the North; and a little firther Advances, without Opposition from the Government, wou'd have given us those Proofs which the quickness of their Reduction has concealed. It is to be feared, that His Majesty subdued his Enemies before he knew half of them, and that the Rehels, in their Hearts, out-numbered those in the Field. For the Leaders of this Rebellion to pretend Ignorance is perfect Grimace, and an additional Affront to the Government; and as little can the Plea of Honour be of Service to them, as that of Ignorance.

For if they think it dishonourable to betray their Friends, they should never court Mercy, since it would be more honourable for them to die for their Friends. But if they are sensible that they have injured their Country, and are really sorry for it, their greatest Honour will be to make some Reparation for their former Offences. One of them, who has already suffered, retracts his Plea of Ignorance at his Death, and insists upon his Honour, that is, when one Pretence would not save his Life, he imagines the other would grace his Death. Of whatever Force this Notion of Honour may be to private Persons, a Government that pardoned

pardoned all obstinate Offenders of Honour would soon be at an End, and tho' this Plea, by the help of a Confessor, may seal up the Mouth of a Rebel, it must never restrain the Hands of Justice. Nothing, indeed, can be of greater Danger than a Rebel of these Principles pardoned, since this very Honour will certainly keep him closer to his Party, and engage their suture Trust and Considence by stronger Obligations. I can't but wonder at the Stupidity of the Friends of the Rebels, who make of the Friends of the Rebels, who make that a Motive for the faving of their Lives, which ought to be the strongest Reason for taking them away. It is a ridiculous kind of Pride, which, rather than to seem to want Arguments in Favour of its Friends, has Recourse to such as must destroy them; Silence and Pity would better become the Advocates for Mercy.

But farther I think it may be proved, that one part of the *Rebels* can never be Objects of *Mercy*; and the other fo nearly refemble them in all their Actions, that it would argue Weakness to grant the latter what ought to be denied to the former.

A professed Roman Catholick, who heartily embraces the Faith, and acts up to the Principles of his Teachers, cannot be the Object of Mercy. For all his Vows C and

and Promises, all his Ties and Obligations to Obedience and Gratitude are, of course, void and null by a prior superior Obligation, which, as long as he is a Papist, he cannot disown. The next Confession, and a little Penance, wash away the Guilt of his Promises, and he is again at Liberty to think and act in opposition to all his Engagements to the contrary; his Gratitude must be made a Sacrifice to his Religion. The Prios thall thunder Dampa. ligion. The Priest shall thunder Damnation in his Ears if he refuses to give him-felf the Lie upon the first Opportunity, and does not hazard his Life again in that very Cause which endangered it before. So little Security can any Protestant Governor have from the Obligations he shall lay up-on a Catholick Rebel; and if any one is a good Subject afterwards, he must be accounted but a forry Papist.

And as for the *Protestants*, who are embarked in the same Design with them, their Actions are really a less Invitation to Clemency than those of the *Papists* themselves. They broke through both Oaths and Religion to Rebel, and there can be but small Dependence upon the Faith of their Promises, who could not be restrained by more solutions. Any one would suspect them as weary of their *Protestantism* as of their Obedience, when they come into Measures equally

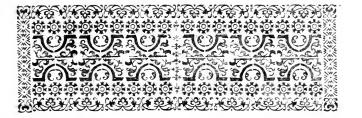
equally opposite to both. All that can be said for them, different from the Case of a Papist, is, that as they are worse than they in not having so specious Inducements to their Crimes, so, perhaps, they may be better in not having the same over-awing Power to force them to repeat them upon any survey Occasion. But we have seen any future Occasion. But we have feen that Resentment has carried it as high as Bigotry, and that the Distinction of Religion fignifies but little, when that of Per-fons is so deeply concerned in the Quarrel. It is needless to say how contradictory to all their former Maxims of Obedience their present Principles appear, since it is the most favourable Opinion to believe they have quitted their Faith to their Interests, and so stand in the same Article with the professed Papists.

The last Plea that has been offered in Favour of the Rebels, is their Submission on full Assurances of Mercy. Now this is a Matter of Fact, and the contrary has been made evident in the sight of the whole World, by the Depositions of the Officers concerned at this Submission. It has been made plain; That they had no Power to offer such Terms, neither did they exceed their Commissions by presuming to give what they were not warranted to do. So that all the sine Talk, both in

Publick and in Private, of the Laws of Arms, and the Sanctity of Promises falls to the Ground at once, the Fact upon which these Declaimers went being it self actually false. It is a strange forwardness in some People to be fond of Reasoning in the Dark, and be very Wise, and Sententious upon Supposition. Thus the Articles of the Treaty between His Majesty's Forces and the Rebels were, for some time, Matter of much Speculation and Debate, and confidently expeded by their Friends; but when nothing of this Secret was to be found, then verb I Promises, and Honour, given and received on each fide, shot up and flourished, for a Season, in the Mouths of the Rhetoricians, 'till all was blasted at the last Trial in Westminster-Hall. And all that these shameless Advocates have to say in Return, is, that the Government should have informed them fooner of the Truth of the Case, and then, perhaps, they might have been Silent. These Gentlemen are not to be satisfied without the Ministry communicates all its Intelligence to them, and if they must wait for it till the proper time, they plainly tell you, they had rather not have it at all. I believe it is not hard to decide which is most unreasonable, their impudent Curiofity, or the decent Caution of our Governors.

In fine; There is an actual Necessity for taking off the Leaders and Chiefs of the Rebels, the Laws demand it, the Security of the Government requires it, and no Reasons can be offered to the contrary, but what draw after them the fatal Consequences of weakning the Authority of the Laws in general, of encouraging Crimes of the like Nature, and endangering the Safety of our King and Country. There is no room for Clemency, when a Kingdom is at Stake, at least, when the Conditions, upon which that Virtue has been always exercised by Wise Princes, are not performed. I do not deny but that the Government may have a moral Assurance of the good Conhave a moral Assurance of the good Conduct of some Rebels for the future; the natural generous Temper of one Man, the good Sense and Reason of another, the Sponfors of a third, may influence a Mind indisposed to Executions, to rely upon these as a Security. But I still insist, that these are precarious Suppositions, and it is owing more to the Tenderness, and unsuspicious Temper of the Ruler, than any Foundation in Reason, that an unconfessing Rebel should be pardoned. There is always a Respect to be had to the whole in every Exertion of the Laws relating to Individuals, and where the Mischief in the Application of *Mercy* is certain, and the *Good* only *Contingent*, it is eafy to determine whether

whether the Ballance is to turn on the fide of Favour or Punishment. Let but wellmeaning People judge by this Rule, and they will easily perceive how much they are concerned in the present Question. I had not urged this Matter so far, but that it is too frequent for the generality of the Pleaders on the side of the Rebels, not to understand what they mean by Mercy, to catch up a Word whose determined Sense they have not fixed, and fo cause an endless Dispute, while one Arguer means one Thing by Mercy, and his Opposite another. It is not, indeed, without some Pleasure, that I have observed the weaker Sex, whose Talent lies more in the quickness of Speech than the Powers of the Understanding, the warmest Disputants against Punishment, and the most Eloquent in the Praise of Mercy. They have been led astray, I believe, by their Betters, one of whom well adorned with Words apt enough to catch a Female Heart, I shall examine; a Writer much more famous for elegant Stile and harmonious Periods, than any Strength of Reason or Judgment.



REMARKS.

Florid Writer has lately drawn his Pen for the Rebels, and though the Book be pretty well known, the Author continues in the Dark, to be discovered

only by likeness of Stile and Manner, to some other Pieces, so that the critical World are divided in their Opinions to whom to attribute this Celebrated Performance. Some fancy it bears the Colour of a noted Speechmaker at a samous Tryal, and have dignified the Production with a B—p for its Father, not without Suspicion that it carries a strong Tincture of Self-tenderness, and looks as if a Man were pleading his own Cause, and not that of another. Besides, they affirm, there is a remarkable Petulancy in the Air of the Writer, at once betraying

traying both a Vanity and Assurance, not unfrequent, in all the Controversies that learned Divine has engaged in. That he fawns in one Sentence, and looks big in the next, that his Arrows are drawn from the Quiver of the Church, and always glance obliquely at fomething else, besides the Butt he aims at; that Cant and Satyr drop indifferent from the same Pen, his Friends being skreened by the Humility of the one, and the Ministry by the Insolence of the other. When he dares not speak the Rankness of his Heart in strong Colours he stilles it with Pain, leaving his Reader to guess at a bolder Meaning than he thinks convenient to utter, and withdraws himself within the security of the Gown and the Laws. Sometimes when his Defign is to abuse the Ministry, he claps them on Red-Coats, and rails at them fecurely under the Name of the Soldiery. When the King himself comes in his way, after a few kind Words, and humble Approaches, as if he were climbing to the Altar, he starts aside to some foreign *Prince*, and raises him a Thousand Degrees higher than His Majesty. He bullies most magnificently at his contrast Work, and slips behind the Tomb of a dead Monarch to shoot his Arrow at a living One; and if that were little, puts the Pretender at the beginning of one Sentence and His Majesty at the end, and by this impudent Disposition of his Stile often leaves it un-determined where the Preserence lies. Before I quit the general Character of this Writer, I must let my Reader into another of his Secrets which runs through the whole Work, and which is the ensiest way to deceive those who will not allow themselves time to examine his Argument. He never advances any thing as a Truth, where he does not crowd in a Falfity into his Premises, and then draws his Confequence accordingly. A certain Author, known by his many *Political* and Religious Disputes, has carried this Art to its height, and had the Happiness to triumph over his Adversaries among his Party, tho' he was always worsted in the Argument. I shall have occasion to give my Reader more than one Specimen of this Art of Deceiving upon the present Subject.

His very first Entrance shews us what we are to expect. His Words are, "When "a Nation is engaged in a CIVIL War, "and the Prince becomes involved there"in, his Part in the Confusion is—
" &c. In which Sentence he has very Artfully inserted the Words Civil War, and then drawn his Consequence for the Behaviour of the Prince if he gets the better, which is a merciful Treatment of his

his Opponents. If he had put the Word Rebellion instead of Civil War he could not have inferred in favour of the Rebels, but a Civil War always having some just ground of Complaint on both sides, he hoists that into his *Premises*, as conveying a milder Idea to the Mind, and then declaims at large on the Benefits of *Mercy* in such a Case. I own, indeed, that to fave himself, he afterwards calls them Rebels, but he has made his kind Impreffion first, and only calls them Rebels at
a time when he is giving almost as bad
a Notion of the Ministry, by saying they
are Political Butchers. I believe any one
who sees a Rebel, and Political Butcher
stand so near, can't help being offended at
one Character as much as the other.

I will give you another Cast of his Skill in this Nature. "Some sedately ruminate upon steady sanguinary Counsels: Counsels which shall produce Examples of a severe, but necessary Revenge! which shall rivet the King's Authority together with that of the Ministry, and make them be duly obeyed, and perfectly dreaded.

Let me only shew my Reader a little of the sly Venom of this Passage, and how indecently Royalty is treated by the Magiste-

Magisterial Pen of this Pedant. The King has ever been famous for Steadiness in his Counsels, a Steadiness proceeding from the best Rules of a Wise Governor, and ever accompanied with the greatest Humanity; a Character so well known to every body that this Writer does not dare to dispute its Put by approximate the Word Services. dispute it: But by annexing the Word Sanguinary to that of Steadiness, and joining
the King and Ministry together in the Exertion of both these Qualities, conveys the
blackest Idea that can be conceived of the
most Tyrannical Government. He, not contented with this Insolence, calls Justice
Revenge, and so his Consequence seems to
be Natural if his Premises are true, that
Fear must be the Measure of the People's
Obedience. Who does not now see the Obedience. Who does not now fee the Snare that is laid for an unwary Reader in this Paragraph? And whose Heart does not swell with Indignation at so base a Misrepresentation of the best of Kings? How villainous does his Argument appear in its naked Dress, free from the artisticial Colours of a Traiterous Pen!

We may observe that he treats the Rebels with softer Terms, and from thence guess at the Genius and Complexion of this Writer. "They have (says he) in a very giddy unjustifiable manner exposed themfelves to a sharp Prosecution; and if

"they are punished they have none to thank but themselves. They engaged in " a rash, desperate, unconcerted Attempt, and they have succeeded accordingly. When a Man studies an Excuse for a When a Man studies an Excuse for a Friend he takes great Care of his Expressions, as we may see by this Train of softning Epithets, giddy, unjustifiable, rash, desperate, unconcerted Attempt, so that this Rebellion was only a strong sit of the Spleen, which worked the Actors up to a short Madness; and the worst that can be said of it is, that it is not to be justified, that it discharged it self without Design of doing any Injury, and grew tame again as sast as the Fit cooled. A very probable Supposition! That Men, blessed with an easy Government, in the full with an easy Government, in the sull Possession of plentiful Fortunes, should quit all the Happiness of Life, the Interests of their Families, without so much as a Scheme of a bettering their Condition at the Success of their Enterprize, should engage their Friends and Dependants to follow them with the comfortable Prospect of certain Despair, and Death before their Eyes. When once a Man has brought himself to reason at this rate, he will stick at no Absurdities, and may easily reconcile Contradictions. Such an Apology could have proceeded from no Man, but one whom he terms a Rebel incog, a pretty Phrase

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Phrase for a Rogue in Black who covers his Treason under the disguise of his Robe.

It is impossible in the short compass I propose in these Remarks, to touch upon all the sly Insinuations he casts on the King, and the Ministry. Hear him only in one of his pious Wishes, a sure sign of a Sting in the Tail, for he never lists up his Eyes to Heaven, without a charitable glance at the Government. "I "wish with all my Soul the Ministry "had stooped a little, ad captum vulgi, "to take in those shallow fluttering Hearts "that are to be caught with any thing "that are to be caught with any thing baited with the Name of Church. But "perhaps the Times wou'd not bear it.
"Perhaps in the hurry of Business it was
"not thought of. Perhaps, after all, it
did not make for the Ends proposed. It is supposed, very kindly, that the Ministers, or the King, which you please, did not stoop so low as to use the Word Church so often as it was wished, the there has neither been Speech nor Declaration from the Throne been Speech nor Declaration from the Throne, in which the Royal Protection and Favour is not Promised to the Church. If the People would not understand plain Words in His Majesty's time, as being, perhaps, too fond of doubtful ones so little before; if this Writer, and his Friends, had infinuated to the Multitude that these Promises

were only Grimace, and not to be depended upon, shall the King, or the Ministry, be blamed for the evil Dispositions, and unconquerable Prejudices, which his Enemies had sown among his People? Our Superiors, indeed, had too much Honesty and Ingenuity to abuse the Minds of the Subject, with applying that word as their Predecessors did, who made it the sanctified Cover for all their Iniquities, and trumped up the Church to skreen every villainous Design of Parricides and Traitors. Be that the Boast of a Tory Administration! But let us observe how artful a tion! But let us observe how artful a Transition from the Name Church he makes to the Thing it felf. "Perhaps the Times "would not bear it. Perhaps in the hur"ry of Business it was not thought on.
"Perhaps, after all, it did not make for the Ends proposed. The Meaning of these three modest Suppositions is no more than that the Church and its Interests were eight ther unseasonable at that Juncture of Affairs, or it was quite forgot, or if it was remembred, it was with no Design to do it any good. In Return to this Scandal, ex Hypothesi, it may be said, that the Papists and facobites had so engrossed both the Name of the Church and its Patroners. nage, that the only way left of remembring it to any purpose on the Government's side, was to act in its Favour without Noise and Clamour, and convince the People, by the Securities made for it, that the Ministers had a better Title to be stilled its Friends, than those who abused both them and the Church it self. To this End; every Act in savour of the Church began in the late Reign, was either continued, consirmed, or improved by the King and Parliament. And this too was done immediately, and almost the first Business that was done, and the same Care continued with equal Diligence in every Session since His Majesty's Accession to the Throne.

Let us observe this Author's Art of Reasoning upon the main Point which he labours most, and for the fake of which this Treatife was composed, the Punishment of the Rebels. They are, says the good Man, to be let alone, to be pardoned, reinstated in their Fortunes, and admitted into the Confidence of their Prince. And for this Reason; "Because those very " means, or the Apprehensions of them have brought Things to the Pass in "which they are, and confequently will reduce them from bad to worse; This "Growth of Disaffection is in a great " Measure owing to the groundless Jealou" sies Men entertained of the present Ad-"ministration, as if they were to expect "nothing 66 nothing but Cruelty under it. I think there hardly ever was fo much Absurdity crowded into two Sentences as appears in these. First, it was the Apprehension of being punished, and then that Apprehension is reckoned groundless, which made these People sly out into Rebellion; the Government was accounted Cruel, for no other Reason but that it endeavoured to prevent its own Downfal by removing those Persons who were to effect it; and it will still be imprudent in the Ministers if they punish those very Men who they foresaw would attempt a Change, and are at present under the Guilt of it. But a Man of Common Sense would argue just the contrary. He would say, they merit a double Portion of Severity; because they maintained a Principle of Hatred in their Country against their own visible Interest, and when they stood at Desiance with the Laws, had not one fingle Reason or Shadow of Complaint to justify themselves; and yet, when reduced, had the Impudence to hope for as kind a Treatment, not only as their Guiltless Fellow-subjects, but even as its *Heroes* and its Patriots. The best that can be said, is, that he who fears Cruelty without Reason, must have a Consciousness of some Guilt, and measures the Proportion of what he is to suffer by his own Rule of what he would make others

thers do, and therefore the least he can expect is Justice without Mitigation.

But all these Apprehensions of Cruelty from the Administration, are nothing but an idle Tale to draw in the Populace; who, it is plain, may be frightned into a Rebellion, though they can't be perswaded into Obedience. Their Leaders knew betinto Obedience. Their Leaders knew better things; For I would fain ask any of them, whether they flew to their Swords in the Morning, because they dreamt of Blood over Night. They were much sorrier Politicians than they would be thought, if Fear was the only Principle they acted upon, and if it, indeed, was so, why should they rebel on purpose to bring that to a Certainty, which was only a Chance before? Could they not have waited for one Experiment of Cruelty, at least, before they had Recourse to such a dangerous Cure of a Distemper which only lay in their own Imaginations. The Truth is, they saw a fair Scheme, which their Friends had laid for the Success of the Pretender, unravelled by a wonderful Interposition of Providence at a Critical Juncture; they were then to try to make the best of a broken Plot, and patch it up with Aster-strokes, and this they did as far as their Heads and Hearts could carry them; but the Means they used being unequal to the End Proposed, proposed, their After-plot has suffered like its elder Brother. If they would own their Designs thus openly, they might at least meet some Praise for their Frankness, though they suffered for their Disloyalty. But I am weary of this poor Plea, and we shall find the rest as mean, and as unconclusive, though set forth with all the Pomp of an arrogant Rhetorician.

Let us hear a Flourish of this kind. "The Quality of the Sufferers, their Al-liances, their Characters, their being En-glish-men, with a Thousand other Cir-" cumstances, will contribute to breed more " ill Blood, than all the State-Chirur-" geons can let out. I desire to know among all these pompous Qualities, if there be any one of them can make a Man less a Rogue, than he is? Does his being a Man of Quality make him incapable of being a Traitor? Or if he has great Alliances, is he a less formidable Rehel than a poor Villain of no Family? Does his being an English-man exempt him, or subject him to the Punishment of the English Laws? Or is our Country the only one in the World that has no Laws to be broken, and no Offences to be punished? Or is it a good Plea in Criminal Cases to Demur, because the Person Indicted is an English-man? And as to the Iboufand other Circumstances, I suppose.

fuppose they are, that he is not a few, nor a Turk, nor an Italian, nor a Flemming, nor a Dutch-man, nor a Spaniard, &c. Or perhaps that he is Tall, speaks the Northern Dialect, that he is Handsome, and a Batchelor, or a Married Man, &c. These are, indeed, such Circumstances, the there is not a Thousand of them, as ought to induce the Government to pardon all Offenders from the highest to the lowest. What a pitiful Shift must Men be put to, when they offer at Arguments that subvert all manner of Government, and reduce us to a meer State of Nature!

The Reader may observe that I have on-ly touch'd upon a few of the many salse Arguments, and artificial Colourings of this Author, and it is not my Defign to purfue him through all his Mazes. It is very easy to see that the Design of the Writer was, to irritate the Spirits of People under the Pretence of Composing them, to reflect on the Government under a Shew of Zeal for the Administration, and to abuse the whole Set of our present Ministers by way of Kindness, and Advice. The few Remarks I have made, I hope, may take off some of the ill Impressions he had endeavoured to make on his Fellow-subjects, and they will find the Free-holder has compleatly done the rest. I can only add that

that these Resections were made some time ago, and designed to accompany the fore-going Treatise, but the Absence of the Author from Town occasioned the Delay of the Press. However, such as they are, the Reader is desired to compare them with the Author's own Words, and then he will see where the Weight of the Argument lies, and how weak all Opposers of the present happy Administration appear, when brought to the Test of Sense and Reason.

FINIS.



